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ABSTRACT

This paper reviews traditional, male-orientated theories of college student development, along with more recent theories that address the experiences of college women, and presents an analysis and synthesis of both groups of theoretical constructs. Student development is defined in terms of academic, personal, and professional achievement and growth. The theories advanced by Erik Erikson, Lawrence Kohlberg, Alexander Astin, William Perry, and Arthur Chickering were developed through the examination of male experiences and do not accurately portray the college experiences of women. The ideas advanced by Carol Gilligan, M. F. Belenky, and Margaret Eisenhart concentrate on women's actual experiences in higher education, focusing on how the educational experiences of women are different from those of men. In conclusion, the paper argues that both sets of theories have something to offer in regard to the understanding of student development, as long as the limitations of each author's ideas are recognized. (Contains 42 references.) (MDM)

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COLLEGE STUDENT DEVELOPMENT: A NEW OUTLOOK

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Abstract

The purpose of this discussion is to provide a theoretical and philosophical analysis of college student development. The major theories postulated by Erikson, Chickering, Perry, Kohlberg, and Astin are reviewed and provide a background for conceptual analysis. Taking into consideration the premise that the major theories of traditional college student development are male oriented, such views are contrasted against the major theories of female college student development postulated by Gilligan, Belenky, and Eisenhart. Drawing upon both conceptual frameworks, traditional college student development and female college student development, basic assumptions are considered which go beyond the theories presented.

Introduction

There is a wealth of information available about the experiences of undergraduate college students (Horowitz, 1987). Lee (1970), for example, surveyed 70 years of undergraduates' changing lifestyles. The scope of such research has become more specific in that the focus has changed to examine specific periods of time. Whereas Lee examined all four years of college life, Upcraft, Gardner, and Associates (1989) have studied the freshman year experiences of college students. It is during this period of time, first year of college, that a student is most likely going to drop out of college (Noel and Levitz, 1983).

The majority of such studies in the area of college student development have examined the college experiences of men, but only a minority of researchers have exclusively studied the college experiences of women. In some instances, the college experiences of men have been generalized to women (Gilligan, 1977). What is known about the college student, "especially their lived experiences, is fragmentary and unsystematic" (Benjamin, 1991, p. 1). Of the 42 studies examined, four of those studies discussed the general undergraduate experiences of college females. There is limited information that specifically examines the experiences of first year female college students (Fidler, 1993).

In understanding the experiences of college students, it is vital to discuss student development. The student development movement has made progressive and steady steps forward following the end of World War I. Student development grew to include more than just academic services. Such student development services included counseling, health, housing and food, financial aid, and placement. It was this movement that saw students as "developing organisms" (Wrenn and Bell, 1942) and called for new psychological theories in the area of college student development. The theories of Erik Erikson, Lawrence Kohlberg, William Perry, Jr., and Arthur Chickering have been applied to college student development.

The most cited authors of the major theories of student development have been men. Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger, and Tarule (1986) "believe that conceptions of knowledge and

truth that are accepted and articulated today have been shaped throughout history by the male-dominated majority culture. Drawing on their own perspectives and vision, men have constructed the prevailing theories, written history, and set values that have become the guiding principles for men and women alike" (p. 5). Belenky et al (1986) further believes the "omission of women from scientific studies is almost universally ignored when scientists draw conclusions from their findings and generalize what they have learned from the study of men to lives of women. If and when scientists turn to the study of women, they typically look for ways in which women conform to or diverge from patterns found in the study of men" (p. 6).

The purpose of this discussion is to provide both a theoretical and philosophical analysis of college student development. It is believed that the major theories of college student development are primarily oriented toward the male undergraduate student. The main focus of this review will be to contrast traditional student development theories with significant theories addressing the development of college females. Following this review, an analysis of the basic assumptions underlying both orientations will be presented in an attempt to address issues which extend beyond the theories discussed in the paper.

The paper is divided into three sections. In the first section, the reader is provided with a review of the traditional, male oriented, theories of college student development. The second section is a review of the significant theories of college student development which address the experiences of college women. In the last section, the reader is exposed to an analysis of theories which compare and contrast the traditional theories of college student development against the major theories addressing the experiences of college women.

Traditional Student Development

The theories developed by Erik Erikson, Lawrence Kohlberg, Alexander Astin, William Perry, and Arthur Chickering are discussed in this paper as traditional theories of college student development. The theories are traditional in nature because they have been developed through the examination of male experiences and do not accurately portray the college experiences of women.

It is also accurate to conclude that the major findings drawn from the traditional theories of college student development have been generalized to college women, even though college women were not part of the study.

Erikson

When examining the experiences of young adult college students, many theorists have relied on the work of Erik Erikson (1950, 1968). Erikson formulated a theory related to the psychosocial development of a person through his or her life span. He defined "Identity versus Identity Diffusion" as a stage of adolescent development (Erikson, 1959). Refer to figure 1 which outlines Erikson's stage theory. Erikson's research has been generalized to include young adult college students (late adolescence). Since identity development is the major task of undergraduate college students, "identity versus identity diffusion" will be the only psychosocial stage discussed in this paper. It is at this psychosocial developmental stage that most traditional first year college students begin to examine their identity. If identity formation is not achieved, a young adult may temporarily overidentify, to the point of apparent complete identity loss (Erikson, 1959).

INSERT FIGURE 1 HERE

Erikson believed a young adult begins to question his or her identity. This questioning of one's identity leads either to a secure sense of one's self or an ambiguous, diffuse understanding of self. Erikson's quote from Arthur Miller's Death of a Salesman provides an example of identity diffusion: Biff states; "I just can't take hold, Mom, I can't take hold of some kind of a life" (Erikson, 1959, p. 91). For many college students, Biff's statement, written by Arthur Miller, may be an accurate statement.

As with each of Erikson's stages, in order for a person to grow, he or she must resolve a developmental crisis. If no resolution occurs, a person's psychosocial development could be unhealthy. It is during this period of time, late adolescence and early adulthood, when a person

begins to question his or her identity or a sense of self (Erikson, 1968; 1980). It is this basic premise that has lead to the evolution of numerous theories of student development (Upcraft, Gardner, and Associates, 1989).

Chickering

A leader in student development research is Arthur Chickering. Chickering (1969) proposed seven major areas of development which he labeled as vectors of development. Chickering (1969, p. 8) labeled them as vectors of development "because each seems to have direction and magnitude - even though the direction may be expressed more appropriately by a spiral or by steps than by a straight line." The seven vectors are: competence, emotions, autonomy, interpersonal relationships, purpose, identity, and integrity (Refer to Figure 2).

According to Chickering, achieving competence is divided into three areas: intellectual (fostering academic growth), physical and manual skills (fostering athletic skills or artistic values) and, social and interpersonal competence. Managing emotions, according to Chickering, primarily related to self-control, which dealt with two basic impulses.The two basic impulses that need to be controlled are aggression and sex. Developing autonomy requires the individual to establish both emotional and instrumental independence. Emotional independence includes a person freeing himself or herself from the continual need for reassurance, affection, or approval. A person who has instrumental independence is able to complete tasks and cope with problems without asking for assistance and also has the ability to be mobile in relation to one's needs and desires (Chickering, 1969, p.12). The capstone to autonomy is interdependence; "One can become an effective agent for himself" (Chickering, 1969, p. 13).

Establishing identity depends upon the past vectors already defined. Establishing identity involved "clarification of conceptions concerning physical needs, characteristics, and personal appearance, and clarification of sexual identification, of sex appropriate roles and behavior" (Chickering, 1969, p. 14). Freeing interpersonal relationships dealt with a student having greater autonomy, a firm sense of identity, greater trust, independence, and individuality. Clarifying

purposes requires "formulating plans and priorities that integrate avocational and recreational interests, vocational plans, and life-style considerations" (Chickering, 1969, p. 17). Lastly, developing integrity leads to the development of personal congruence as related to values. A student's behavior becomes consistent with the values he or she holds as true.

INSERT FIGURE 2 HERE

According to Chickering, when a college student arrives on campus, his or her first concerns are related to coping with academic material, meeting people, and taking care of daily tasks (vector 1). There is a shift from developing competence to managing emotions. The two primary emotions of a college student are aggression and sex. Conflict with a roommate may manifest itself as aggression while inappropriate sexual behavior is related to poor management of one's sexual emotions (vector 2). A student who is able to free himself or herself from parental and peer reassurance, affection, or approval is at the stage of developing autonomy. The need for instrumental autonomy may be seen when a student has difficulty managing time and money.

Establishing identity (vector 4) depends on the first three vectors and it also fosters change in the final three vectors of student development. Chickering believes that the establishment of identity in a college student is directed to the student coming to terms with his or her physical appearance and sexuality. As a college student develops, he or she begins to tolerate diversity of individual and ideological differences. A student at vector five is able to recognize differences, tolerate such differences, and appreciate their existence as seen in intimate relationships. The main goal of a student who is trying to "clarify purpose" (vector 6) is to formulate plans and priorities for his or her life and to integrate avocational interests with vocational plans. The student begins to reflect upon future life goals. The development of integrity for a college student involves a shift from a dualistic (black and white) view of rules to a more relativistic position. The student begins to affirm his or her own value system and, in turn, acts in accordance with the values he or she has established. Integrity exists between the student's behavior and beliefs.

Chickering's theory of student development has made an impact on student service programs. Programs can be designed to address student needs according to Chickering's model of development. For example, entering first year students, according to Chickering are concerned about feeling competent. Programs for first year students should develop academic and social competence within this age group.

Perry

William Perry, Jr. (1970) postulated a theory on the forms of intellectual and ethical development during the college years. Perry suggests that a person develops from a simplistic, right or wrong, categorical view of knowledge (dualistic view) to a more complex or pluralistic view, in which, knowledge and truth can no longer be equated. Eventually the person understands that truth is created through one's experiences and in order to establish an identity from these experiences, a person must make a commitment to a specific set of values. Perry labelled the last "category" of development as"relativism" because a person begins to come to terms with the content of his or her commitments and develops a sense of certainty in life. Perry labels them positions because each "position" is identified as a location of cognitive development. Each position represents a different mode of "thinking".

Perry believed that development occurred along nine positions (refer to Figure 3). Position 1: The student sees the world in dualistic terms of we-right-good vs. other-wrong-bad. "Right answers for everything exist in the Absolute, known to Authority whose role is to mediate (teach) them" (p. 9). Position 2: The student perceives diversity of opinion and uncertainty and accounts for them as unwarranted confusion in poorly qualified Authorities or as mere exercises set by Authority. Position 3: The student accepts diversity and uncertainty as legitimate but still temporary in areas where Authority hasn't found the answer yet (Perry Jr., 1970). Position 4: The student perceives legitimate uncertainty (and therefore diversity of opinion) to be extensive. Basically, anyone has a right to his own opinion." Position 5: The student perceives all knowledge and values (including authority's) as contextual and relativistic and subordinates

dualistic right-wrong functions to the status of a special case, in context. Position 6: The student apprehends the necessity of orienting himself in a relativistic world through some form of personal Commitment. Position 7: The student makes an initial Commitment in some area. Position 8: The student experiences the implications of Commitment and explores the subjective and stylistic issues of responsibility. Position 9: The student experiences the affirmation of identity among multiple responsibilities and realizes Commitment as an ongoing, unfolding activity through which he expresses his life style" (Perry, Jr., 1970, p. 9).

It is important to note Perry's definitions for the terms: Absolute, Authority, authority (lower case "a"), and Commitment, used as descriptors to define his nine positions. Absolute is defined as "the ultimate criterion in respect to which all propositions and acts are either right or wrong." Authority is defined as "the possessors of the right answers in the Absolute." The term authority (lower case "a") is defined as "an aspect of social organization and interaction in a relative world." Lastly, Commitment is defined as "a conscious act or realization of identity and responsibility."

INSERT FIGURE 3 HERE

During positions one to three, "Dualism Modified", the student views truth as right or wrong. The student believes that every question has an answer, and this answer, is correct. A college student at this level would have problems understanding conflicting points of view and would have little confidence in asserting his or her opinion. There is a shift in a student's development during the next three positions which have been labelled as "Relativism Discovered". The college student at this level believes that everyone has a right to his or her own opinion. A person's opinion is not objectively challenged because all views are seen as "right". As a student progresses, the capacity to think in a more complex manner is developed. The college student is able to draw assumptions and evaluate other points of views. Eventually, a student realizes that

there are no "correct" theories or absolutes in life.

Lastly, during positions seven through nine "Commitment in Relativism Developed", a college student develops an identity consistent with his or her own personal beliefs. A student begins to make a commitment in such areas as marriage, career, and in a specific set of values. The student establishes a sense of certainty through making numerous commitments in life. Diverse views are now balanced against a student's individually defined set of values.

Perry's theory has also been applied in the development of student programs. For example, an entering first year student is not going to perform well in an orientation program that is abstract in nature and presents very diverse views as a means of instruction. Programs developed for first year students should be designed in a fashion where the points of view are consistent and the questions presented should have definitive answers.

Kohlberg

Another theorist's work that has been applied to student development is Lawrence Kohlberg. Kohlberg (1971, 1975, 1984) studied moral judgment as a process of various stages of development. He proposed a six stage theory of moral reasoning divided into three levels of moral development:

Level One: Preconventional Moral Reasoning. Judgment is based on personal needs and cultural rules.

Stage one: Punish and Obedience Orientation. Right and wrong behavior is determined by the physical consequences of the action.

Stage two: Instrumental-Relativist Orientation. One's personal needs (occasionally the needs of others) determine appropriate behavior.

Level Two: Conventional Moral Reasoning. Judgment is based on the expectations of one's family, society, or nation regardless of the perceived consequences.

Stage three: Interpersonal Concordance Orientation. Actions are evaluated by other persons approval and intentions.

Stage four: Law and Order Orientation. Appropriate behavior consists of showing respect to authority and maintaining social order.

Level Three: Postconventional Moral Reasoning. Moral values and principles are defined and have validity beyond those held by any individual person or group.

Stage five: Social Contract Orientation. Appropriate behavior is defined for the individual (or group) by standards agreed upon by society (e.g. U.S. Constitution).

Stage six: Universal Ethical Principle Orientation. Judgment is determined by individual conscience and involves abstract concepts of justice and equality.

In understanding how Kohlberg's theory of moral development relates to college student development , it is important to note that Kohlberg did not develop his theory for college students. The theory and Kohlberg's ideas have been applied to student development. In an attempt to apply the theory to college students, level one "Preconventional Moral Reasoning", is typical of a person ten years old and younger. A first year student begins moral reasoning at level two.

At level two "Conventional Moral Reasoning", the college student looks to his or her peers, in some instances family, for approval regardless of the perceived consequences. Loyalty is important and, at the college level, it may take the form of school loyalty (e.g. cheering on the football team) and school support. A first year student is more likely to evaluate a person's intent, more so , than his or her actions.

The student who is at the "Postconventional Moral Reasoning" level is one who has an abstract thought process that is capable of understanding the consequences of his or her behavior as related to the degree of personal responsibility. The student understands that his or her behavior is defined by standards set by society, the college or university, and in some instances, the student's instructor. Kohlberg has been openly criticized that his stage six is unattainable by the vast majority of the population.

Kohlberg's model has been applied as an educational intervention used to promote development through the stages. Widick, Knefelkamp, and Parker (1980, p. 98) summarize the educational model.

> The educational model involves deliberately presenting the student with disequilibrizing moral dilemmas and experiences and with lengthy discussions in which the educator interjects reasoning that is one stage above the student's. Research has shown that students tend not to be able to understand reasoning at more than one level above their own, hence the intervention is designed to present a developmental stimulus that is not overwhelming. It is this general process that is used in Kohlberg's model. He also has written that the schools cannot promote the advancement of moral reasoning unless they, too, operate at levels that model and promote greater complexity of reasoning in the students.

"Not infrequently faculty expect students to behave in postconventional ways, although research indicates that most students are not capable of such thought, let alone such action" (Widick, Knefelkamp, and Parker, 1980, p. 98). Discipline procedures in higher education have been viewed as educational in nature but in fact they are widely misunderstood by both faculty and students. Using Kohlberg's model, higher education administrators could organize a set of discipline procedures that are congruent to student's developmental levels (Widick, Knefelkamp, and Parker, 1981).

Astin

A.W. Astin has been a major voice in the area of student development. Astin (1985) postulated a model of student development. He believed that in order for students to succeed, they must commit to being involved, both intellectually and in extracurricular activities, while at college. Basically, Alexander Astin (1977) believed that students learn by becoming involved. Personal growth and learning are enhanced by student involvement. Astin (1985, p. 134) defined student involvement as "the amount of physical and psychological energy that the student devotes to the academic experience." Astin's (1985, p. 135) "theory" comprises five basic postulates:

1. Involvement refers to the investment of physical and psychological energy in various 'objects.' The objects may be highly generalized (the student experiences) or highly specific (preparing for a chemistry examination).
2. Regardless of its object, involvement occurs along a continuum. Different students manifest different degrees of involvement in a given object, and the same student manifests different degrees of involvement in different objects at different times.
3. Involvement has both quantitative and qualitative features. The extent of a student's involvement in, say, academic work can be measured quantitatively (how many hours the student spends studying) and qualitatively (does the student review and comprehend reading assignments, or does the student simply stare at the textbook and daydream?).
4. The amount of student learning and personal development associated with any educational program is directly proportional to the quality and quantity of student involvement in that program.
5. The effectiveness of any educational policy or practice is directly related to the capacity of that policy or practice to increase student involvement.

"These last two propositions are, of course, the key educational postulates, since they offer clues about how to design more effective educational programs for students. Strictly speaking,

however, they do not qualify as postulates since they are subject to proof by empirical test" (Astin, 1985, p. 136). Astin's model has been criticized because it does not fit the definition of a theory. "Astin offers a general dynamic, a principle, rather than any detailed description of what kinds of behaviors or phenomena are being predicted, the critical variables involved, how they relate to one another, or the precise nature of the process by which growth or change occurs. It remains to be seen whether Astin's involvement proposition is useful in guiding research" (Terenzini, 1987, p. 25).

Female College Development

In this section of the paper the theories of Erikson, Chickering, and Kohlberg are critiqued for their findings as related to the experiences of female college students. The same holds true when one examines Perry's theory of development. The work of Perry has been widely applied to college women even though Perry did not include the experiences of college women in the design of his theory. In contrast to these traditional views of college student development, the theories of Gilligan, Belenky, and Eisenhart are reviewed and provide a female oriented view of college student development. Gilligan, Belenky, and Eisenhart have taken into account the college experiences of women in the design of their respective theories.

The theorists mentioned in the contexts of the prior section have relied on the use of men's experiences to establish "norms" (Erikson, 1959; Chickering, 1969; Perry, Jr., 1970; Kohlberg, 1971). These norms have then been applied and generalized to the experiences of women. This is true of most discussions examining college student development and student experiences.

For example, Erikson (1968) saw a young woman (e.g. college age female) establishing an identity through a man.

> Young women often ask whether they can 'have an identity' before they know whom they will marry and for whom they will make a home. Granted that something in the young woman's identity must keep itself open for the peculiarities of the man to be joined and of the children to be brought up, I think that much of a

> woman's identity is already defined in her kind of attractiveness and in the selective nature of her search for the man (or men) by whom she wishes to be sought. This, of course, is only the psychosexual aspect of her identity, and she may go far in postponing its closure while training herself as a worker and a citizen and while developing as a person within the role possibilities of her time (Erikson, 1968, p. 283).

Chickering's work on identity development of college students attending a four year college has also been questioned in terms of its validity as related to the female college experience (identity development). Hood, Riahinejad, and White (1986) questioned Chickering's belief that identity development (change) occurs during the first year of college. They also suggest that the "college environment may be promoting the development of identity in men to a greater extent than in women. The mixed messages women receive in college regarding career patterns, sex roles, and societal attitudes may cause women to develop identity at a slower rate" (Hood, Riahinejad, and White, 1986, p. 113). Straub and Rodgers (1986) found similar conclusions as stated by Hood and associates, "evidence was found to support a sequence of developmental tasks for women that differed from Chickering's theory" (p. 216).

Gilligan

Carol Gilligan, a noted theorist in the area of women's moral development called for an increase in developmental theories examining the concerns and experiences of women. Gilligan questions, most notably, Kohlberg's stage theory of moral development due to Kohlberg's scoring of female responses to moral conflicts. Gilligan (1977, p.489) states, "this repeated finding of developmental inferiority in women may, however, have more to do with the standard by which development has been measured than with the quality of women's thinking per se." The criticism with Kohlberg's stage scoring does not relate to the structural differentiation of his levels, but rather to questions of stage and sequence (Gilligan, 1977). The quarrel with Kohlberg's theory as related to female development pertains to the transition between stage three and stage four. More

women than men have been scored at stage three as opposed to stage four (Gilligan, Kohlberg, Lerner, and Belenky, 1971). For women, this has been interpreted as a lower level of moral reasoning. Gilligan believed that women may not always think in terms of right and wrong, but rather in terms of compromise and resolution (Refer to figure 4). Women tend to value the approval of others (empathy and compassion) and their social system, which Kohlberg's scoring system does not take into account.

Gilligan's (1977, p. 516) thrust has been to illustrate the centrality of the concepts of responsibility and care in women's constructions of the moral domain,

> to indicate the close tie in women's thinking between conceptions of the self and conceptions of morality, and, finally, to argue the need for an expanded developmental theory that would include, rather than rule out from developmental consideration, the difference in the feminine voice. Such an inclusion seems essential not only for explaining the development of women, but also for understanding in both sexes the characteristics and precursors of an adult moral conception.

Generally, Gilligan (1979) believes that the theories representing the developmental life cycle have been modeled after male experiences, such models have failed to account for the experiences of women. Gilligan (1986) realizes a dissonance between psychological theory and women's experiences.

INSERT FIGURE 4 HERE

As with all new theories and theories that dispute commonly held beliefs, such beliefs are challenged and criticized. This holds true for Gilligan's work in adolescent development and psychoanalytic theory. Luria (1986) believes that Gilligan has oversimplified and overinterpreted

the data from her theory which structures In a Different Voice. Kerber (1986) echoes Luria's position and warns against the study of psychological development through a dualistic lens (male/female-separate spheres). Such a view lends itself to oversimplification. It is further believed by Greeno and Maccoby (1986) that more research needs to be conducted: "A claim that the two sexes speak in different voices amounts to a claim that there are more women than men who think, feel, or behave in a given way. Simply quoting how some women feel is not enough proof."

Belenky

Another voice in the area of women's developmental issues is that of M.F. Belenky. Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger, and Tarule (1986) believe that empowerment is an important issue in developing the power of one's (women's) mind. Belenky et al (1986, p. 47) state "that [women] can strengthen themselves through the empowerment of others is essential wisdom often gathered by women."

Belenky and associates interviewed a total of 135 women from diverse backgrounds. Of the 135 women, 90 were students enrolled from six different colleges or schools. The remaining 45 women were selected from three local family agencies seeking information about or assistance with parenting. Using an intensive interview/case study approach, the women were asked to describe their experiences as students or parents. The researchers were interested in hearing the women's views, in their voices, about life and learning. The college women in Belenky et al's study (1986) echoed the themes: Confirmation of the Self as Knower; Knowing the Realities: the Voice of Experience; and Freedom, Structure, and Tyranny of Expectation, as related to their educational experiences (Refer to figure 5). The theme of "Confirmation of the Self as Knower" relates to a woman understanding or believing in her abilities to intellectually grow. "For women, confirmation and community are prerequisites rather than consequences of development" (Belenky et al, 1986, p. 194).

INSERT FIGURE 5 HERE

"Knowing the Realities: The Voice of Experience" is understood when one (a woman) understands their (her) experiences as reality. Experiences which were personal or concept related fostered a woman's understanding of reality. Abstractions which preceded experiences were difficult for the women to understand and ground in reality. As Belenky et al (1986, p. 201) states; "Even the women who were extraordinarily adept at abstract reasoning preferred to start from personal experience."

Taking into consideration the theme of "Freedom, Structure, and Tyranny of Expectation," all of the women Belenky et al interviewed wanted some sense of structure in their educational community. When structure was not present, it was an excuse for self-indulgence and a lack of seriousness. Coupled with the need or call for structure was the lack of choices. The women expressed the desire to learn to make choices and to be free to learn what one wants to learn instead of being told what to learn. The college that operates according to a model of "housewifery" (respecting the students' own rhythms rather than imposing an arbitrary timetable) complimented and supported a woman's development (Belenky et al, 1986, 211).

Eisenhart

In understanding the experiences of college women, specifically first year women, Margaret Eisenhart outlines how women take meaning from culture and make it a part of who they are. Eisenhart (1990) describes this process as cultural acquisition in college. "Cultural acquisition is described as stages of increasing individual expertise and identification with a given cultural system - stages in which access to the more advanced levels is limited by an individual's social relationships, a process with both positive and negative implications for individuals and with a developmental trajectory that can be discontinuous" (p. 19). Basically, the women Eisenhart

interviewed acquired a new peer group and cultural system similar to the peer groups acquired in high school. Acquiring a peer group culture meant drawing more direction from a culture system already known, accepting portions of it as descriptive to their own situation, and condensing its meaning for their own use. Eisenhart (1990) also postulates a cultural model of romance. Briefly stated, a woman's attractiveness and prestige while on campus is validated by a man who finds her attractive and has a desire to date and treat her well. Prestige is gained and attractiveness is validated when men and women are attracted to the opposite sex.

An Analysis and Synthesis of College Student Development Theories

There are many prominent and influential theories of college student growth. The theories of Erikson, Chickering, Perry, Kohlberg, and Astin have provided a traditional view of college student growth. Such traditional views of college student development have relied on the experiences of men, and the research developed to postulate such theories has been conducted on men and generalized to college women. Conversely, the theories of Gilligan, Belenky, and Eisenhart have been specifically developed through empirical research with women. The primary assumptions developed by Gilligan, Belenky, and Eisenhart have relied on the experiences of women.

All of the theories discussed in this paper have been psychologically based (Stage, 1991). Rodgers (1989) sub-divides the theories of college student development into four areas: psychosocial theory, cognitive-structural theory, person-environment interaction theory, and typological theory. "The term psychosocial refers to the developmental issues or tasks and life events that occur throughout the life span as well as to a person's pattern of responses to issues and adaptations to events. Cognitive-structural refers to the sequence of meaning-making structures through which people perceive, organize, and reason about their experiences. Person-environment interaction refers to various conceptualizations of the college student and the college environment and the degree of congruence that occurs when they interact. Typological refers to phenomena - such as cognitive style, temperament, personality type, and patterns of socialization -

that may cause individual variation in the processes and patterns of outcomes in development. None of the theories discussed in the context of this paper fully relate to a typological theory.

Erikson and Chickering have individually developed theories of student development where they have attempted to describe the psychosocial-developmental stages (Chickering uses the term "vector") of student growth. Common to each theory is the presentation of a sequence of development in the form of stages, tasks, or of some type of conflict, be it emotional, cognitive, social, and the like. It is important to note that each developmental sequence does not have to occur in a step-by-step fashion or in a specific order.

Perry, Kohlberg, Gilligan, Belenky and Eisenhart have created individual theories related to the cognitive-structural approach of student development. Cognitive structural theories describe how people, in this case college students, create meaning from their experiences. Perry's and Kohlberg's specific "stages" of cognitive development are hierarchical in nature, and each past stage builds upon the next stage. Gilligan, Belenky, and Eisenhart use a qualitative approach to develop a narrative about the experiences of college women. Gilligan and Belenky examined student development through the use of themes and metaphors developed through the lived experiences of the participants. Eisenhart believes college women create meaning from their culture which is, in turn, part of their lived experiences.

It is also interesting to note that Erikson and Eisenhart feel that a man plays a significant part of a woman's development. Eisenhart believes that a woman's attractiveness and prestige, while on campus is validated by a man who finds her attractive and has a desire to date her (Eisenhart, 1990). Erikson believed a young woman (college age female) established an identity through a man. Erikson states, ". . .I think that much a woman's identity is already defined in her kind of attractiveness and in the selective nature of her search for the man (or men) by whom she wishes to be sought" (Erikson, 1968, p. 283).

In studying college student development, Erikson and Astin have relied on the experiences of men to generate a theoretical framework of student development. Perry did examine the experiences of a few women to create his theory of development but only used (scored) the

responses of men. Chickering (Hood, Riahinejad, and White, 1986; Straub and Rodgers, 1986) and Kohlberg (Gilligan, 1977) have been criticized for not fully taking into account the experiences of women when they designed their respective theory. Gilligan expressed concern about Kohlberg's scoring methods as applied to women. Hood, Riahinejad, and White (1986); and Straub and Rodgers (1986) believe that Chickering's sequence of developmental tasks are different for women as compared to men.

There are comparisons between Chickering's vectors, Kohlberg's stages and Perry's nine positions. Chickering's "Developing Autonomy" vector is roughly similar to Kohlberg's stage three because each relates to peer involvement and approval. There are also similarities to Chickering's "Autonomy" and "Identity" vectors, Kohlberg's stages four and five, and Perry's positions five and six because a person strives for emotional independence and cognitive independence which is the ability to think in a complex analytic manner. There are also clear parallels between Chickering's "Developing Integrity" vector and the highest stages or positions in Kohlberg's and Perry's theory because a person begins to understand the connection between rules and purpose, and has a more relativistic view of the world (Terenzini, 1987; Rodgers, 1989; Knefelkamp, Parker, and Widick, 1978).

Astin's theory has the characteristics of a person-environment interaction theory. The theory examines the amount of interaction (congruence) between an individual's behavior and his or her environment. A student must be involved in his or her environment while attempting to decrease the amount of stress or tension contained within the college experience. If a balance or congruence occurs, growth is achieved.

Conclusion

There is not a single theory that fully captures the process of college student development. Erikson, Chickering, Perry, Kohlberg, Astin, Gilligan, Belenky, and Eisenhart have all contributed to the process of college student development by creating a theory that expands the narrow, and in some instances, gender biased approach to understanding college student growth. In theory, each of the primary assumptions created by the authors and discussed in this paper have

something to add to each other's theory. Basically, there are more similarities than differences between theories.

A note of caution is warranted when examining the similarities between male and female student development. The majority of authors in the area of college student development have generalized or misrepresented their findings to the experiences of college women. Traditional theories of college student development grew out of the male experience and the amount of literature and research pertaining to the experiences of college females is limited and unsystematic.

This discussion has provided an indepth review of the literature in the area of college student development. Information has been provided detailing the theories of Erikson, Chickering, Perry, Kohlberg and Astin, and which provides a traditional view of college student growth. Along with the traditional views of student growth, the theories of Gilligan, Belenky and Eisenhart (theories which take into account the experiences of women) have been compared and contrasted against the traditional views of college student development. This synthesis of all the theories presented goes beyond the literature published to date.

Understanding the need for further research in the area of female student development, it is important to take into consideration the college experiences of men and women. The voices of men in the area of student development have been strong, but growing research has shown that male and female college experiences are not identical. The paths of college woman and the paths of college men may not be identical but parallel. This "difference" in growth between men and women does not suggest that one gender is superior or inferior, but suggests that the process of change and college student development is an individual process determined by one's lived experiences.

For example, Sottile (1994) found that first year college women voiced the theme of social behavior over academic behavior. Brower (1990) found similar findings in that first year college students rated "making friends" (social behavior) as a more prominent domain (life-task) than getting "good grades." College women find engaging in social activities as a very important part of college student growth or college student development. Social behavior is a prominent theme in

college female development. The theories of Perry and Kohlberg do not take this into account. Each theorist views college student development through a different lens, but it is not fair to conclude that one view is superior to another view. The same holds true for the differences found between male and female college student development. First year female college students value social behavior which is part of their college experiences. In summary, the college experiences of men have been generalized to women. Such generalizations have lead to a misrepresentation of theories pertaining to student development. There is a strong need for research examining the developmental process and experiences of college women.

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Figure 1

Erikson's Stages of Psychosocial Development

1. Trust vs. Mistrust
2. Autonomy vs. Shame and Doubt
3. Initiative vs. Guilt
4. Industry vs. Inferiority

(College Student Years)

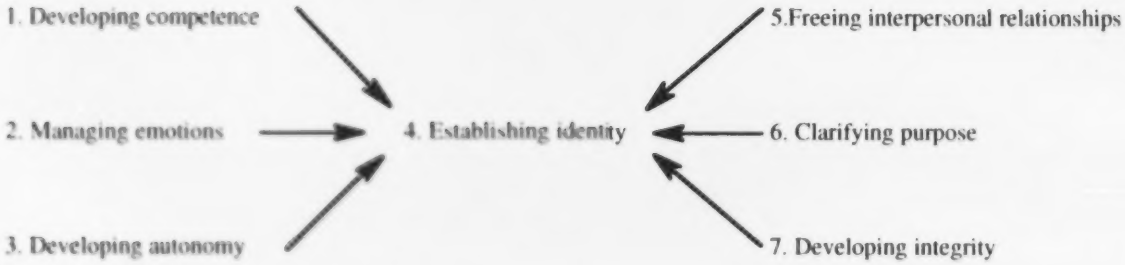
5. Identity vs. Identity Diffusion
6. Intimacy vs. Isolation

(Non-College Student Years)

7. Generativity vs. Stagnation
8. Integrity vs. Despair

(Erikson, 1950, 1968)

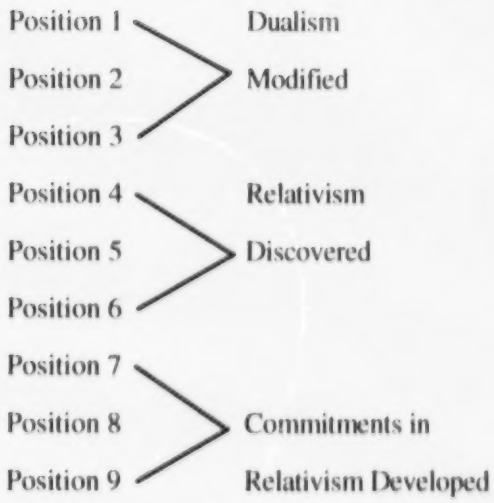
Figure 2



(Widick, Knefelkamp, and Parker, 1980)

Figure 3

Perry's Intellectual Development



Perry's "scheme" asserts that the developmental sequence of forms "manifests a logical order-an order in which one forms ideas to another through differentiations and reorganization required for the meaningful interpretation of increasingly complex experiences" (Perry, 1970).

Figure 4

Gilligan's Theory

The theory describes a different voice for men and women characterized by themes. Such themes of college women include: care and responsibility voice, and the justice voice (as interpreted by Kohlberg's theory).

Care and Responsibility Voice - In resolving moral dilemmas, the care and responsibility voice stresses the connection between self and others, while others are seen in their own situation (Gilligan, 1982; Lyons, 1983).

Justice Voice - "The justice voice emphasizes effects on self rather than others. This voice sees others in terms of how we would like to be seen by them" (Rodgers, 1989). "These effects are evaluated through rules and principles of fairness and relation-ships of reciprocity" (Rodgers, 1990).

Figure 5

Belenky (College Women: Themes)

Confirmation of the Self as Knower - a woman understanding or believing in her abilities to intellectually grow.

Knowing the Realities: the Voice of Experience - is understood when one understands their experiences as reality.

Freedom, Structure, and Tyranny of Expectation - woman expressed the desire to learn to make choices and to be free to learn what one wants to learn instead of being told what to learn (Belenky, 1986).